1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 302 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date. 814 793 565 887 212

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root, origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile fihi*)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers. 171 643 602

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names. 551 124 552

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231 773 552 643 231

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in the following pages are drawn from these sources. 114 127

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 124 128 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses, and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals. 177 538 [124]

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the original Tongan text. 113 114 128

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from Tongans as well as from Europeans. 186 [814] 123

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, a scion of the Tui Tonga's house. 539 814

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Fakamolemole a houeiki mo ngaohi haa,
814 He oku mamao mo faingataa ae faanga;
Koe tolutalu nae tuu holo he ngahi halanga
Kuo fuu puli pea alu mo hono toutangata.
Ka ne ongo ene vao fihi mo tevavaa,

Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo sia faala
Kia Touiafutuna, koe uluaki maka
Nae fai mei ai hotau kamataanga.
Kehe koe talatupua ia mo fananga,

Oku utuutu mei ai sii kau faa.

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
But although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

127 My thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, to the Prince Consort William Tungi, to Messrs. W. H. Murley, J. P. Maatu, E. E. V. Collocott, and to Mrs. Rachel Tonga for generously allowing me to use unpublished tales which they had recorded. The Methodist and Catholic churches, through their representatives, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, and His Lordship Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc courteously placed the old manuscripts in their archives at my disposal. 128 For the patient and painstaking work of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker in translating hundreds of pages of Tongan text I am especially grateful. To others I am indebted for similar work, to wit: Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. E. E. V. Collocott, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. William Finau, Miss Georgina Sutherland and Miss Lena Hettig. 124 Acknowledgment of the help of various Tongans who related stories is made in connection with their contributions.

104 Two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language offer a choice in orthography. One is the compilation of the Catholic Missionaries of the [114] Marist Brotherhood,[1] and the other is the compilation of the Reverend Shirley W. Baker.[2] I have, with one exception, elected to follow the orthography set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais because it conforms more closely to the orthography of other Polynesian dialects. In the present paper sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* and the consonants are *f*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *s*, *t*, and *v*. *Ng* is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Catholic dictionary and Baker's dictionary.

Baker's dictionary differs from the Catholic dictionary in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone. Consequently, in

[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Paris, Ch, Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] Baker, Shirley W., An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows.

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed her example. If writing and reading have been the means of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's "Tongan Islands" translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg upon which to hang a controversy with a religious back ground. The Catholics use the symbol "p" to represent the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between "b" and "p." It is a sound quite similar to French "p." Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French, they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound with "p." The Protestants, however, used both "b" and "p." or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable, because after all but a single sound is being dealt with. Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English ear as "b," sometimes as "p." As a result of this rivalry of "b" and "p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat similar case is to be found in "s" and "j," the former now having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday conversation. Although "s" is sponsored by the Catholics it has come into general use and the "j" of the Protestants is fast sinking into oblivion.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

The address which he delivered was a long and telling one, in which he sketched the past history of the country, and dwelt particularly upon the succession and deeds of his own royal ancestors. Many of the natives themselves had never heard, till then, such a connected narrative of the events of bygone ages, the traditionary knowledge of which was carefully confined to a very select number.

643 668 669 173 [814]

For some time after this nothing happened to disturb the peace of the country, or to hinder the steady prosecution of Missionary work; but the following extract from our journal will show that discontent, if not a disposition for actual rebellion against King George's authority, still lurked among the Vavauans.

643 668 669

March 20th, 1849.—A fleet of canoes arrived a few days ago, escorting King George hither. We hear by the natives that there is considerable danger of war breaking out in Tongatabu, between the two heathen fortresses of Houma and Bea. I do not understand the precise origin of the quarrel; but it appears to be a mere struggle for ascendancy between Maafu and Vaea, the ruling chiefs of those two towns and fortresses. Haabai is at peace, and so is Vavau; but how long this may continue I do not know. But for the presence of Missionaries, and the salutary influence of religion, I am afraid there would soon be sad disturbances even here. The present formal, and formidable, visit of the king, is connected with another reported plot for his assassination, and for the purpose also of instituting an inquiry into certain seditious speeches, which some of the chiefs are reported to have made among the people, during the

643 669

duction

114 We are fortunate to have an author gifted in both languages. An intelligent, versatile, keen-witted woman, 114 Tupou Posesi brings much to her job as Researcher of the 814 Tonga Traditions Committee. At the Palace Office where she works, she greets newcomers who come with impossible requests; anthropologists are always at her door. When a movie maker from England sent camera men to the islands to take pictures of dancing, *tapa* making and the like, Tupou made arrangements for them; when an archival bureau in Fiji wanted sections of an early Tongan newspaper translated in three weeks, Tupou handled it; when the University of the South Pacific Centre at Nuku'alofa needed someone to lecture on Tongan family customs, Tupou was called upon – and her spontaneous performance was enthralling.

Then when we were in Tonga in late 1973 asking Tupou's advice and assistance in obtaining photographs for *Tonga Pictorial,* she told us, "Next year I am going to New Zealand. I am going to work with Garth Rogers in the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland, translating and taping some of my research work."

128 "But Tupou, when are you going to write that book you promised us?" we asked.

"I'll send you a manuscript," she replied.

[p. 7-B]

114 famous blind navigator, Kahomovailahi (whose nickname [502] Fāfākongatahi means to touch the water), who could, it was said, determine the location of his boat by simply [814] putting his hand into the water. Tupou's father, Sione Fa'iloakitau Kaho was one of the great researchers of his time and was in touch with much lore, as he was the direct descendant of 'Ana, the daughter of a famous Tu'ivakanō, noble of Nukunuku.

In the Ha'apai group, the island of 'Uiha where dwelt the woman from Felemea who loved the sun in one of the folk tales, is the island which Tupou claims for her family. Her mother, Salote Katokakala, was the cousin of Malupō, the chief of 'Uiha, and her family came from the line of Niukapu, one of the thirty-three nobles of Tonga.

Tupou is married to Dr. Posesi Fanua, who has retired from the Medical Department of Tonga. They have seven daughters and one son. "All the girls are working for the government," she writes," two in the Medical Department, one in the Lands Department, one as Secretary at the University Centre, one is married in Australia, one is a commercial teacher besides running the well-known Beach House at Nuku'alofa, and one works at the Education Department; our only son is a farmer."

At present," she adds, "I've got sixteen grandchildren." 000 Not long ago, we each had thirteen. But I do not have the stories which she has to tell to her grandchildren. Mine are the losers; they have television.

[p.8-B]

Helen Raitt

51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the [mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

TUPOU POSESI FANUA
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accompanied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*, relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in 1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concerned or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and

[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (London, 1965), 51-2.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'.[7] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as *'tangata 'ilo'*. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965 I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

[7] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929), 53.

/273 cont./

871 an 1826 by the Wesleyan missionaries because these messengers of the
177 faith regarded the transmission of European knowledge an indispensable
[799] prerequisite for the successful work of conversion. European teaching increased more and more in the course of decades, and soon had considerable success among these islanders who were intelligent and for the most part eager to learn. Almost all Tongan adults living in the Archipelago, of all ages and ranks, have attended one of the schools now run by the government and by the various religious groups. The natives have thus largely adopted the average school knowledge of the whites.

212 Today, among this once illiterate people, there are only a few who cannot read and write. Of the adult Tongans of both sexes up to about 40 or 50 years of age approximately 97 to 99 percent can read and write, while at least 70 to 75 percent of the older generation have some experience in it.

803 /274/ The vast majority of Tongans, who knew the decimal system
177 even in the pre-European era, (745)

745. See E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien... /Australia/ vol. I. section 2. p. 654.

are now likewise skilled in European-style math (approximately 85 to 100 percent, depending on their stage of life).

871 The "history of Tonga" (as taught in schools today) is known to al-
814 most all the younger generation, whereas the older generation was usually not taught this newer subject. About half the natives over 50 years, and about 80 - 90 percent of the younger Tongan men and women have become acquainted with the "history of the world," (especially the history of Great Britain.)

Most of the younger natives are well aquainted with the geography of the Tonga Archipelago--especially through their school (map-drawing) --whereas the information of the older generation (on account of the newness of this teaching subject) is limited to personal experiences

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[197] [192] [178] 746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

178 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the every-
177 day life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.
[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

[821] 747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and